● 797

[For additional information on missionary activities, see Category 177, pp. 187-188.]

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A Period of Stress

[21] Badaga social history since 1812 is recorded in sufficient detail for us to delimit confidently an especially stressful period in the last century and examine its relationship to the formation of factions and religious revitalization movements. We shall attempt to answer three questions: (1) What steps did Badagas take, in the face of stress-producing situations, to bring their society back to the previously existing stability? (2) Did these steps amount to what A.F.C. Wallace (1956, *passim;* 1966, 158-163) has called revitalization—a cult movement which reinvigorates, as it were, the society that has undergone too much stress? (3) If so, what new institutions arose from this cult behaviour, or if not, why did revitalization fail to occur?

[182] [175] The published sources portray some disaster confronting sections of the Badaga community almost yearly from 1845 to 1906—a period of unusual stress which threw more difficulties in the path of the Badagas than at any time since records began.

A succinct chronology of this time of troubles is presented below. Items concerning missionary endeavour have been included because their ideas were seen by the Badagas as strange and often upsetting, and proved to be a serious threat to the integrity of the Badaga community. It will be noticed that matters which can be viewed as the 'causes' as well as others which are clearly the 'effects' of stress, or its manifestations, have been included.

[175] [199] 1845 Four Germans from the Basel Mission began preaching in

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many Badaga villages; such itinerant preaching continued throughout the century.

1847 The mission took over a school established in the central village of Ke:ti and began persuading local parents to send more children there; parents objected to losing their children's labour and a salary had to be paid for school attendance. Other mission schools started in Ka:ṭe:ri and So:gatore. Epidemic among Badaga cattle; Toda sorcery held responsible. Badagas in fear of the magic of the Revd. Weigle, who was vaccinating them against smallpox.

1849 The mission schoolmaster and the son of a Badaga headman involved in (unspecified) 'misconduct'. The headman prevented children from attending the school or communicating with missionaries, and that school was closed for six months. Another school opened in Sulligu:ḍu. Some smallpox prevalent.

1850 Ambivalent feelings towards missionaries expressed in the account of a village that begged the Revd. Metz to visit them, then vacillated and asked him not to as the village god might run away.

1853 Typhus epidemic killed over five hundred Badagas. Evangelists noted an increasing opposition to them.

1854 Cholera and typhus epidemics. Government made production and sale of opium illegal: this had been quite an important marketable item for Badagas; some of them were addicted.

1855 Smallpox epidemic killed over a thousand Badagas. Temple for Jesus Christ built. A Badaga presented himself for baptism but died before this could occur. Government prohibited the fire-walking ceremony.

1856 A missionary rest-house burnt down by Badagas. From this year until 1887 government continuously planting further tracts with eucalyptus trees.

1857 Mission school re-established in So:gatore and another in Ba:kola. Stories of the Indian Mutiny caused increased hostility among Badagas towards missionaries and indirectly prevented a conversion. Drought in the Nilgiris.

1858 The first Badaga convert to Christianity, Abraham Nerkambe (formerly Halaiya), was driven from his Kaṇakka village, which itself was ostracized; much opposition to his conversion, even from his wife. Large drop in school

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attendance coinciding with the conversion and the take-over of some government schools by the Basel Mission. Crops partially destroyed through drought; blamed by Badagas on a curse from the Christian preachers, and by the missionaries on Badaga idolatry.

1859 Continuing drought. By now, ten mission schools opened.

1863 Legislation to stop private parties clearing land to farm in reserved forests. Famine and some migration of Badagas away from their native villages; this was blamed on the missionaries, who were preaching that Christ was responsible for all that happens. The continuing conversions usually attributed by Badagas to sorcery; very low school attendance. Further government order prohibiting the annual fire-walking ceremony.

1864 A Badaga 'oracle' when questioned by villagers indicated the 'English god' was dangerous and evil-intentioned. Consecration of protestant chapel at Ne:rikambe.

1864-1884 Land Settlement; registration of all land holdings and the real end to swidden farming.

1865 Some headmen pulled down their temples and built new but bigger ones, for the first time in brick. Famine on the Nilgiris; drought blamed by Badagas on their gods losing power. A promise reportedly made by the god Irabattaraya to come to the plateau to cure the sick and destroy the missionaries; many disappointed that he did not come.

1873 A Badaga near Wellington became a deathbed convert to the Roman Catholic faith.

1875 Massacre of eighteen Kurumbas by Badagas armed with axes; this in retaliation for a fever among the Badagas.

1876 Monsoons failed; cholera epidemic among Badagas.

1877 Smallpox and cholera epidemics and dysentery on the Nilgiris and famine throughout South India; grain prices double the usual; heavy immigration of starving unemployed people from plains near the Nilgiris; among Badagas much loss of faith in the efficacy of Hindu rituals, and some conversions.

1880 By now 183 Badagas converted to Lutheranism since 1858, and the process continuing slowly; ostracism and physical fighting still associated with each conversion.

1882 Madras Forest Act: defined forest boundaries and further restricted the cutting of timber. Family of a Kurumba

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sorcerer killed by Badagas and Todas, after three sudden deaths in a Badaga headman's family.

1884 Conclusion of Final Land Settlement (1881–1884). Drought in Nilgiris, followed by crop failure.

1887 Some smallpox; school attendance decreased following a series of conversions. Kurumba shot by a Badaga whose wife he had bewitched.

1889 First mission school opened in Kundena:ḍu, at Bikkaṭṭi, by request of 'a friendly Badaga'.

1890–1910 'Bible women' (South Indian Christians) active in trying to convert Badaga women; very little success.

1891 Massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.

1897 Opium-eating noted to be on the increase. Factions formed among Ha:ruvas over who should have precedence in walking over fire at their Mahaliṅga festival.

1900 Typhoid epidemic and famine among Badagas; earthquake in Nilgiris; massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.

1901 Conversion of Kereha:da headman's daughter; attempt to isolate the Badagas of that area from the rest of their community.

1902–1903 Epidemic of plague among Badagas.

1904 Police used to suppress Badaga persecution of a new group of converts; after this date there was no further physical harrassment of Christians.

1904–1905 Plague among Badagas.

1906 Minor earthquake in the Nilgiris; houses shook. Much higher rate of intoxication than in previous years. By now about eight hundred protestant converts.

The cut-off date of 1906 in this skeleton history is somewhat arbitrary; nevertheless it is clear that the misfortunes that dogged the Badagas became considerably less frequent after this date. In 1907 the converts were having factional disputes amongst themselves.

FACTORS LEADING TO STRESS

Biographical material in publications of the Basel Evangelical Lutheran Mission and in the minutes of the Ke:ti parish for the

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nicknamed 'three-quarters God', lost face through declining an invitation to prove the superiority of his religion by walking across the fire.[4]

As another missionary recalled:

> The proclamation of the Gospel, which was repeated again and again in every village with scarcely any exception, met with an increasing opposition, till at last it became a great trial of faith and patience to go on preaching to the same well known and apparently hopeless generation. From the proverbially timid Badaga we even heard expressions like these:—'You have ruined our country, why do you come to us?—stay at home!' (Mörike, 1858, 96).

Apparently the missionaries capitalized on the misfortunes that struck at the Badaga community: on one occasion of drought (in 1859), the missionaries blamed the disaster on the continuing worship of idols; on another occasion Metz reported:

> The famine may have helped to awaken in many a fear of the wrath of God.... Especially one day, after four Badagas had been burned in one house... people were eager to hear the Word and ask questions about it, so that it was quite refreshing to me (B.E.M.S., 1866, no. 27, 78–79).

In 1855 missionaries prompted the government to issue a ban on Badaga fire-walking. The move back-fired, however, for a village had burnt down at about the same time, and this was considered a manifestation of the Badaga deity's wrath (B.E.M.S., 1855, no. 15, 39).

The mission schools were another important means of evangelizing. A school had been founded at Ke:ti in 1845, and by 1859 nine others were in operation. At first Badaga parents in the neighbouring villages were given one anna a day (½ cent U.S.) as inducement to send their unconverted children there rather than have them work in the fields. The schools were intended to create a favourable impression among the Hindus, but the missionaries recorded that the frequent changes of schoolmasters, their indifference to teaching, their loose morals and the periodic closure of the schools led to a halting literacy but scarcely any conversions.[5] A permanent

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day-school was established by the mission in 1871, yet the drawbacks remained.[6] No industrial training was given at these institutions. Only in the 1880s did the Badagas begin to appreciate the merit of schooling: the number of schools on the Nilgiri Plateau 'was only 3 in 1879, but 21 in 1889, and 36 in 1889'.[7]

Natural Calamities

A third class of stress-producing factors in the experience of nineteenth-century Badagas was one of natural disasters, sometimes drought, sometimes epidemics, sometimes earthquake, sometimes famine. Badagas were not slow to attribute these calamities to the mission.[8]

Yet on a few occasions the disasters were so intense that they prompted hundreds of people to turn to the German missionaries for sustenance. In 1877 especially the general famine and crop failure led to a steep rise in food prices in the Nilgiris and to a heavy immigration of indigents from the plains. Beggars came to Ke:ti in hundreds, and the missionaries had to restrict their alms-giving to the old and the sick. The mission established some relief-work for Christians and distributed rice to their congregation; and this clearly prompted many, especially the relatives of previous converts and people familiar with the Gospel, to forsake Hinduism. 'Their idols, some said, had been of no use to them in this calamity, they would now follow the God of the Christians.'[9] The missionaries were glad to enlarge their flock, but by the end of the century some of them became more realistic about the motives prompting Badagas to convert. Thus a Badaga pastor, Jacob Kanaka, noticed that 'The larger number of the famine-converts came from the village Tandanadu, the abode of a heart-hardened people and the seat of idol-worship in this district.'[10]

Indeed it would be no exaggeration to say that the Badagas came to the mission more often for temporal than for spiritual aid. In the 1870s mission staff felt many were willing to convert, yet seemed 'more concerned about their debts of money than those of sin; they promise to embrace Christianity if their debts will be paid by the Mission' (B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45; 1850, no. 10, 23; 1897, no. 58, 53–54). The missionary was commonly sought out in times of sickness when herbal therapy failed. Food was often begged from the mission people too. Thus, for example, a hungry Hindu

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Badaga asked a Christian woman for food, and she remarked on the risk of her polluting him. The man answered: 'In your Bible it is written: If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. Therefore consider me as your enemy and act in accordance with your Bible.' The woman had to give the knowing heathen food (B.E.M.S., 1906, no. 67, 82).

Instances of spiritual aid being sought by Hindus from the missionary should also be noted, however; particularly at times of sickness and death: 'You are our Padre . . . if you only look at the sick or put your hand on their heads, they will feel relieved' (B.E.M.S., 1905, no. 66, 68).

REACTIONS OF THE BADAGAS TO EVANGELIZATION

Missionary activity and the other stress-producing factors we have mentioned led to a wide variety of reactions among nineteenth-century Badagas. Some attempted to incorporate Christianity into their own religion or to bolster their religion so that it might be as effective as Christianity; some attacked or intimidated the converts; some threatened the missionaries; some murdered Kurumba sorcerers; some took to opium or liquor; many became involved in factional disputes; while a few ignored the wishes of their relatives and were converted.

Conversion (1) was at one end of a spectrum of reactions that also included (2) quiet acceptance of much in Christian teaching, but without formal conversion; (3) ambivalent feelings leading a man to seek and appreciate temporal help from the missionaries, but only when he could not possibly do without it; (4) ignorance of Christianity and an uncomfortable avoidance of the missionaries; (5) ostracism and threats of violence directed against missionaries, converts and potential converts; (6) physical violence, using sticks, stones, fists and blunderbusses against converts.

Attempts to Syncretize Christianity and Hinduism

One reported pattern of behaviour among Hindu Badagas exposed to proselytization was the attempt to syncretize the two religions. As early as 1849 some people were praying to the 'God Jesus', and in 1850 a headman was heard to invoke Jesus among other gods as he knelt on the bank of a stream during a Hindu

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ceremony (B.E.M.S., 1850, no. 10, 23; compare B.E.M.S., 1854, no. 14, 41). Then, as later, Christ was considered *another* Hindu god, perhaps an *avata:r* of Vishnu.[11] Even the missionary could be incorporated into Hindu thinking. Metz, for example, once visited the village where a woman had just committed suicide by swallowing opium (the common method then among Badagas). As he had previously condemned her for leaving her husband and taking a lover he was now treated with great circumspection: the frightened villagers took him for either a sorcerer or a god (Metz, 1864, 71–76). Missionaries were sometimes called 'Shiva kandidhone—Swami kandidhone', the man who has seen Shiva (B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45).

The 'Christian temple' was another case of syncretism. In one village Badagas claimed that a vision of Christ had appeared to them, telling them to believe the preachers. These people promised to build a Christian temple, which they did around 1855. In it they enshrined a New Testament in the Tamil language. A legend quickly developed that every night Jesus came to taste the milk and bananas offered on his altar. But when Metz visited that village in 1863 he found the temple fallen into disrepair and the village nearly deserted. He blamed this on the current famine; the Badagas tended to blame the famine on *him*. This was the occasion already alluded to, when the Badagas interpreted the preacher's explanation of Christ's authority as meaning that Christ was responsible for the death and starvation at that time (Metz, 1864, 69–70; Reclus, 1891, 239–240).

In the same year the Badagas of that particular village went to a temple for divination and asked: 'Is he who is called Jesus Christ a good Swami [lord]?' The response was negative (Metz, 1864, 71; Reclus, 1891, 238–240). Another instance of Hindu practices being directed towards the mission was cited by Wieland. A child in Ke:ti was sick; its Hindu father promised to give five rupees to the Christian God if He would cure the child. As the child subsequently recovered the missionary was given the coins (B.E.M.S., 1907, no. 58, 68). Such action is traditional and quite routine in Hindu temples all over India.

On one occasion the Badaga boys rushed from a school in consternation when a missionary asked them to repeat a prayer after him, for they feared that 'If we say the *mantroum* of the Christians, Christ will hear, Christ will come, Christ will carry us off!' (Reclus, 1891, 239–240).

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In general we may say that Badagas found Christianity of some relevance to them only when they could treat it as an aspect of their own Hindu religion. The manner in which the spiritual message of Christianity was presented led to some wild misunderstandings of what Christianity stood for. Badagas could not comprehend why anyone should want to be converted. They asked Metz (1864, 138) if the new converts '... would soon mount horses and ride about like Europeans, and whether they had got plenty of money by the change?' Clearly some Badagas were viewing conversion as a process of social mobility whereby one should adopt the behaviour patterns of Europeans and abandon those of Badagas; and in this they were not altogether mistaken.

Hindu Reformers

The European missionaries were not the only ones to assume an aggressive posture in the conversion arena. The actions of these aliens prompted a counter-movement of Hindu proselytizing, using evangelistic methods to make the Badagas (and other communities) more orthodox Hindus. These Brahminic missionaries belonged to the Hindu Tractate Group of Madras City, and they visited a number of Badaga villages to distribute pamphlets and set up their own short-lived schools (B.E.M.S., 1854, no. 14, 41; Eppler, 1900, 306).

A Hindu reform movement that developed without any aid from outside emerged in the village of Eḍapalli in 1892. There the young Badaga men formed an organization called the Society of Virtuous People (or *Yedapullu Sajjana Sangha*; B.E.M.S., 1892, no. 53, 77–78). Among various proposals they advocated cleanliness of body and home, an end to tattooing, education for girls, cessation of lavish spending and of dancing to music at the funerals, stopping the use of drugs and intoxicants, and general adoption of monogamy (except that if one wife proved barren a second wife could be taken but the first should remain with the husband). The account of this society shows it aimed to put right the various 'evils' of Badaga life that Europeans had for so long been condemning. (One automatically thinks of the close parallel between this organization and the Arya Samaj in North India, also active in the last decades of the nineteenth century.) It is worth noting that, while nothing further is heard of the Society of

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Virtuous People, the village of Eḍapalḷi became strongly Gandhian in the 1930s and today retains this idealism, has a well-balanced mixed farming economy and an optimistic outlook on the future—a combination of factors that is quite rare in Badaga villages. It was also the first village to send a Badaga to the United States for post-graduate training. Eḍapalḷi seems to have been a progressive community for some generations.

The Destruction of the Temples

Building and destroying temples were equated in Badaga thinking with establishing or destroying a religion. In one village, as we have seen, Badagas sympathetic to some aspects of Christianity built a temple to Jesus in which they placed the New Testament they had been given. In another village Metz knew some Badagas who were willing to pray with him but not openly to call themselves Christians. They even asked him to pull down their Hindu temple. Metz suggested it would be better if they showed their faith by doing this themselves. They refused but did remove the *pu:ja* offerings at the temple and kneel in front of it while the missionary prayed with them (Metz, 1864, 135–136).

In 1864 a Protestant chapel was consecrated in the Badaga village of Ne:rikambe, and in 1865 famine hit the Nilgiris. Some of the Badaga leaders felt this happened because their gods were not properly honoured, and during the next few months many villages went through the unprecedented steps of tearing down their temples and building new, bigger ones in their place. By this means the people hoped to regain the favour of the gods and counter the influence of the mission. It is noteworthy that brick, a European novelty which up until this time had rarely been used in Badaga building, was the material of these new temples; stone is the usual material even today. In one large village several temples were destroyed by the headman and four new ones built, two of them for gods not previously worshipped there.[12] The process of rebuilding temples continued for several decades and affected 'almost all the villages' (B.E.M.S., 1870, no. 31, 22–23; 1905, no. 66, 66).

Sanctions against Conversion

Social pressures were constantly being exerted on converts, their

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626 close relatives and any other Badagas who were receptive to the
797 missionary message. Many cases could be cited from mission publications of Badagas who wavered in their attitude towards conversion. Metz for example commented that

> ... the people of a village can be really affected by the love of Christ, when it is preached to them ... But when I come again on my next tour ... I find that in the meantime they have been so frightened by Satan and his tools that they hide in their houses when they hear that I have come, or run away when I ask them to listen if only for ½ hour. They fear to be convinced by my sermon and to have to suffer for it from their relations (B.E.M.S., 1870, no. 31, 22–23).

In some instances men waited till they were dying before openly requesting baptism (B.E.M.S., 1878, no. 39, 63). Individuals were always extremely reticent to become the first converts of their village. They often promised they would become Christians if their friends or relatives would lead the way. Thus Metz (1864, 135) remarked:

> ... there are Badagas who will readily kneel down with me and offer up a prayer in which their wants were often expressed more forcibly, than they probably would have been by many a nominal Christian, and who, for several years, have discontinued idol worship; but when I ask them to go one step further ... they immediately refer me to another, and say that if he will set the example, they will follow it; and if I appeal to him, he puts it off with a similar excuse.

Their immediate family problem was expressed by several to the preacher: 'What you say is true; but were we to follow your advice, we should have no hope of getting wives for our sons.' (B.E.M.S., 1853, no. 13, 39; 1856, no. 16, 34; 1858, no. 18, 92). [582] Intermarriage between Hindus and Christians was unthinkable. Fear of ostracism was great, and held men back from the Christian fold.

159 The biographies of some converts vividly convey the extent to
626 which the Hindus tried to force converts back into their old ways.
518 The following slightly abbreviated quotations offer a representa-
797 tive pair of case histories.[13]

(1) [Mada, baptized Mark] ... had a wife and a little

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child ... The wife had promised to join him [in Christianity]. But on his return from Church the first Sunday, he found the door of his house locked, and his wife did not dare open it for him. Next day his father-in-law came, and took her and her child away to Adhikarhatti. His whole house was pillaged, and property to the value of several hundred rupees was taken away; even his potato field was dug up by his father-in-law. Shortly afterwards Mada's wife returned and was about to fulfil the promise she had made her husband before his conversion that she would also become a Christian. But next day her brother took her away by force, and after a few days she was sold [i.e., married after payment of bridewealth] to another husband. Only the little babe was left to Mada.

The bereaved husband then tried to get back his wife and his property by the help of the law ... But the [Moslem Police] Inspector treated the Christian witnesses with marked rudeness and would not listen to their evidence. Their depositions were sometimes taken down contrary to what was affirmed, in spite of [the missionary] Mr. Lütze's protests, while the witnesses of the opposite party were fully heard and recorded. Mada's wife was constantly surrounded by heathen Badagas, and when her husband asked her whether she had left him of her own free will or by compulsion ... she could only reply as she was told by the Badagas ... At last the police declared that the defendant [her father] had committed no unlawful action, and the case was dismissed ... Heathen neighbours and relations promised [Mada] their assistance to get back his wife and property, on condition that he returned to caste; Kalla especially pledged himself to that end. Mark [Mada] hesitated and wavered ... He stayed away from divine service, and when Kalla carried off Mark's wife by force from the neighbouring village and brought her back to him, when most of the plundered property also came back, he gave way ... (B.E.M.S., 1893, no. 54, 87–88; Harvest Field, 1894, ser. 3, vol. V, 546–551; Lütze, 1894, 22–23).

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(2) About the beginning of 1893, several young men of Kerehada ... came repeatedly to Mr. Lütze, mostly at night, to express their willingness to become Christians. They were Kalla, ... Karcha, the son, and Konga, the nephew of the *headman* of the village. They broke caste and openly spoke against idolatry and heathenism ... After some time Karcha

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[stream]... Karcha, armed with a cudgel, rushed forward from behind a rock and knocked the three men down. Kalla, Konga and Mark [Mada] also came forth from their hiding place, while the headman of the village with his servants was seen standing at a little distance encouraging the assailants. But as Isaiah's daughter and his brother-in-law called for help, they had to retire. Joseph and Titus were so injured, that they were unable to work for a whole month. Isaiah's arm had to be bandaged. When the assault was inquired into by the police, the assailants turned round and brought a complaint against their victims, whom they represented to have been the aggressors, and sued for Rs. 2,000 damages. This time, however, they were convicted and punished. Daniel also, the brother of Kalla, who had so greatly rejoiced at his brother joining the Christians, had to suffer from Kalla's spite. He drove him, his sick wife and his children out of their own house and locked it. After they got it back, he reaped Daniel's barley crop and filled his verandah with the straw. A few days afterwards the house was partially burned down. In consequence of this, Daniel's wife's illness was so aggravated that she died after long suffering... (B.E.M.S., 1893, no. 54, 88–90; my italics).

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It is apparent from many such cases that the converts, their fellow villagers and even the missionaries were commonly undergoing stress during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Attempts to make the converts return were sometimes legalistic and sometimes not, sometimes violent and sometimes merely argumentative. Much of the behaviour that marked these feuds drew its form and inspiration from the old practice of ostracism. Even before the British came to the Nilgiris Badagas had been in the habit of banishing members of the community for certain categories of crime and anti-social behaviour. Such people would then have to clear a patch of land in the jungle and make a new home there or else find a distant village willing to house them. The attempts to exclude converts from their own villages fitted this pattern and obliged the mission to allocate land near its compound for some of the new converts. Male converts who later reverted to Hinduism were readmitted to the Badaga community by a ceremony which involved shaving the head, cutting the thread of the loincloth, and purifying the tongue by burning it with a golden wire or some charcoal ('Miles', 1951, 70).

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Violent opposition to almost every conversion characterized relations between Hindu Badagas and the mission from the time of the first conversion in 1858 to 1904, the last year in which some conversions 'roused a storm of persecution which could only be suppressed by the help of the police' (B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68–69).

At about that time a story was circulating among Badagas and elsewhere in South India that just before Christmas the Christians sacrifice a human and offer the head on their altar; a Freemasons' Lodge in Wellington was said to preserve the skeletons.[14]

Personal Disorientation

There are a number of references in the Nilgiri literature to opium and intoxication. Opium had been produced and taken by the Badagas as early as 1812 at least, when there was an official reference to it (Keys, 1812, li; Macpherson, 1820, lix). But liquor was apparently unknown to them until three decades after their first contacts with the British (Marshall, 1873, 82). It was noted in 1820 (Macpherson, lix) that no intoxicant was distilled, drunkenness was unknown and opium chewed only in moderation. Though opium continued to be taken (Young, 1827, 42), locally made intoxicants were still unknown to the Badagas in 1834 (Ainslie, 1834, 36). By the time the mission was active among them, however, opium-eating was widespread (Metz, 1864, 132; Gover, 1871, 87), even though its manufacture was outlawed by the British in 1854 (Price, 1908, 224). Opium-eating was occasionally a problem in the Christian congregation and continued for long as a solace for the Hindus; it was stated to be on the increase at the turn of the century (B.E.M.S., 1897, no. 59, 64; Basel Mission, 1905, 119, 129–130). Drinking was also an increasing problem at that time: in 1892 the Society of Virtuous People at Edapalli tried to stop the use of liquor and drugs there (B.E.M.S., 1892, no. 53, 77–78; Basel Mission, 1905, 170–172, 179). In 1905, a year of plague, some Badagas near Kotagiri decided their whole community was being ruined by drinking, and '. . . pledged themselves to their goddess Hette to give it up and to excommunicate [i.e., ostracize] everyone who transgresses this convenant' (B.E.M.S., 1905, no. 66, 68). The next year in Ke:ti Wieland noted that drinking was increasing rapidly among Badagas (B.E.M.S., 1906, no. 67, 63). The anecdotes quoted above contain a specific instance (in 2) of acute stress leading to apparent alcoholism; the Ke:ti

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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either instance marriages now sometimes occur across the cleavage.

In summary we can say that Badaga factions arise from and give expression to a situation of stress in the community. However, only one of the half-dozen important factional disputes arose directly from the stressful experience of evangelization.

The Cult of Irabattaraya

So far I have described many types of reaction to evangelization and certain calamities without encountering any movement that meets Wallace's (1966, 158–163) criteria for a successful revitalization of a culture. Let us now review what little is known about the cult of the Wodeas' god Irabattaraya (Virabadraya), since this was a kind of eschatological movement.

> A rumour was spread that the God Irabattaraya, born of a white elephant, would come up to the hills within some months bringing to each [Badaga] a true Linga, & consuming Mr. Metz with the breath of his mouth. Even the Todas, ignorant as they are of Vishnoo & Shiva, accepted the mark of Shiva on their foreheads, that they also might be acknowledged by the God as his followers when he would appear. This excited such a sensation among the people, that for some time the proscribed Missionary had the utmost difficulty to get a hearing. But the appointed term elapsed & the god did not make his appearance. At last the news was spread, that Irabattaraya was in Satyamangalam, a town at the bottom of the mountains, performing the same wonders, as Mr. Metz was in the habit of relating of Jesus Christ. Multitudes of sick people, dressed in white, descended the mountain, but came back uncured & disappointed; and after a few weeks the god had disappeared. The impostor appears to have been a Mohammedan juggler. But the people were not yet satisfied. An embassy consisting of 20 men was dispatched on a 5 days' journey into Mysore to ask the old god of the Badagas when he would come up? This frenzy has now passed away. . . .(B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70–71).

The cult, which flared up briefly in 1865, contains features of both the Christian and Hindu religions. In this regard it is worth

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794 recalling that by the early eighteenth century the Sattiyamangala
177 population was largely Christian as a result of proselytization
797 there by the Jesuit Fathers, notably Roberto de' Nobili, from 1643 onwards. Persecution by Tippu Sultan, a Moslem (1749–1799), forced the entire town population to revert to Islam or Hinduism (Société des missions-étrangères, 1933, vol. XII, 234–235; 1938, vol. XVII, 632–633). One is thus left in doubt whether the Irabattaraya cult drew some of its inspiration from this earlier contact with Christianity or whether missionaries in Sattiyamangala in the 1860s prompted this anti-missionary movement.[18]

CONCLUSION

121 In asking whether Badaga reaction to stress either restored an equilibrium or amounted to a revitalization movement, we must recall the features of revitalization outlined by Wallace and Fuchs.[19] Wallace's view of revitalization as a social process stems from the general hypothesis that under certain circumstances a particular sequence of events is likely to follow.

First, he says (Wallace, 1966, 158–163), a society is in a 'steady state' when disorganization and stress remain tolerable to most people. Certain social groups may find some stressful incident intolerable but their restricted 'correction' does not overthrow the entire social system. Then increasingly large numbers of people may encounter stress from climatic or biotic change, war and conquest, social subordination and acculturation. There follows a sharp rise in crime, illness, alcoholism and anti-social behaviour. A third phase occurs when some people attempt to restore an equilibrium by certain socially dysfunctional means, such as by attacks on 'scapegoat' groups. Individual aberrations become institutionalized efforts to eradicate The Evil.

Once such severe 'cultural distortion' has occurred the society can usually return to a 'steady state' only through a revitalization process. This involves the following recognizable characteristics, according to Wallace: (1) a code is formulated, transforming the stressful conditions into an ideal society; (2) the code is preached in an evangelistic spirit to attract converts; (3) the movement becomes organized with the formulator of the code, the disciples and the sympathetic followers; (4) the code is adapted to face outside threats and to clarify ambiguities; (5) a large part of the

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Hindu Badaga community continued to exist as a distinct, mainly endogamous group, with its own characteristic language and culture, and beside it there emerged a Christian community. What had happened to relieve the tensions that we have documented? Several features of the changing social condition can be mentioned here as a partial answer.

Accommodation of the Christian Community

After the final outburst of protest in 1904 the Hindus were no longer openly antagonistic to every new conversion (B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68–69). The community of Christian Badagas was by then so large, so influential with the Europeans, so well schooled and thus so powerful that it could no longer be threatened and attacked with impunity. The Badaga Christians came to be regarded as a caste, separate and inferior to the Badaga Hindus. Having thus been assigned a position in the social organization of the Nilgiris the Christians no longer posed such a serious question about the continuance of Badaga society. After the expulsion of German missionaries in 1914, the Basel Mission on the Nilgiris passed into the hands of the less evangelistic Wesleyan Mission. A stable family and economy were so encouraged among the Christians that they became something of a reference model for the remainder of the Badaga community in these respects. The first schoolteachers, the first government clerks, the first college graduates, the first factory workers and even the first published writers among the Badagas were Christian.

Major Factions Became Permanent

Like the division between Christians and Hindus, and another between Lingayats approving of marriages with Kanarese girls and those opposed to it, the factional division between Ha:ruvas and those who did not acknowledge their claims to Brahminic status became a persistent feature of Badaga social organization. Even today every lineage belongs to one or the other of these factions. We might wonder whether the rapid increase in the Badaga population over the past century has led to a growing awareness of impersonality in the community, which this and later factional splits have counteracted by 'dismissing' large sectors of

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reduce its tensions and achieve something like a 'steady state' based on a cash-crop economy, and the institutionalization of certain social divisions which were the major cleavages during the time of troubles in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. More recently one Badaga was converted to Islam and was being trained to proselytize that faith on the Nilgiris; B.E.M.S., 1901, no. 62, 96.
2. Thus two days after the first Badaga conversion, the missionary wrote: 'I went with Abraham into the coffee plantation yesterday in order to present him to his master as a Christian and to ensure his work as a plantation supervisor there'; trans. from Mörike, 1858, 93. Basel Mission (1905) contains full details of the frequent loans, made against pledges of land.
3. Grigg, 1880, 421–422: B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 104. The old mission house, still in use, was built by Lord Elphinstone for his residence in 1840; Grigg, 1880, 458; Macleane, 1893, 403; Francis, 1908, 331.
4. Metz, 1864, 55, reflected: 'Challenged to perform a similar miracle . . . I replied that a much greater wonder than that, was, that I should not cease to love such squalied fellows as they were; and that too, in spite of all the abuse they daily heaped upon me'; compare B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45; 1853, no. 13, 39.
5. B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 44; 1863, no. 23, 50–51; Metz, 1864, 8–9, 56; Grigg, 1880, 424–425; Stokes, 1882, 177; B.E.M.S., 1887, no. 48, 98. By 1864 boys could earn three to five rupees monthly on coffee plantations; this, and the usual parents' contention that 'they have become old without knowing [how] to read or to write and could do their work as well as their forefathers', explain the initial unpopularity of schools; Metz, 1864, 9, note; compare Grigg, 1880, 425.
6. Ke:ti was by no means the first Badaga village with a school. One had been established at De:na:ḍu in 1820 or 1821 and another at Ku:kalu around 1830; Ward, 1821, lxx; Harkness, 1832, 69–70; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 113.
7. Eppler, 1900, 306–307; in these years there were respectively 69, 497 and 967 students. See B.E.M.S., 1886, no. 47, 88; 1887, no. 48, 98. In 1904–1905 there were 39 Badaga schools with 1222 pupils; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 64.
8. The epidemic of 1863 was attributed to Jesus, 'because the missionary had but lately been preaching that not a hair, not a bird, can fall to the ground without his [Jesus'] express will and his sovereign command'; Reclus, 1891, 238.
9. B.E.M.S., 1877, no. 38, 15. At this same period, the Revd. Stokes claimed that most of the converts 'embraced the Christian religion from conviction and not from unworthy motives, as is very often the case in the plains where large numbers are gathered in'; B.E.M.S., 1873, no. 34, 32, and Grigg, 1880, 422.
10. B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 110; such a shift in attitudes was not confined to one village.
11. B.E.M.S., 1883, no. 44, 80. It must be remembered the Badagas were then rather ignorant of Hindu scriptures; B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73.

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12. B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70–71; Stokes, 1882, 174; Sawday, 1884, 12–13; Francis, 1908, 130; Tignous, 1911, 116. To meet the cost four rupees were levied from each household. Prior to this time Badaga temples had been round thatched structures; compare Breeks, 1873, pl. LXXV, and B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68, plate.

13. There are many comparable anecdotes in the presbytery minutes and the various mission periodicals.

14. Schad, 1908, 134; Butterworth, 1923, 208. Since fresh skeletons were supposedly collected each Christmas, Badagas would only walk around in groups after dusk during November and December, for fear of European headhunters.

15. Breeks, 1873, 65; Grigg, 1880, 299, 411; Stokes, 1883, *passim*; Francis, 1908, 155; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86; Tignous, 1911, 155; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 50. I have been told of a much more recent instance (not well substantiated, however) in which Badagas burnt down a Kurumba hamlet near Mañjakombe because of the excessive demands for food that a Kurumba watchman had been making.

16. *kāḍi*, or in one dialect *kari*; see Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 79 for cognates.

17. Wieland, 1900, 86. The Maṇihaṭṭi priests thought themselves superior as their service was done inside the temple while the Taṅga:ḍu priests remained in the outer precincts. The Taṅga:ḍu Ha:ruvas, who by then included several contractors and were distinctly wealthier than Maṇihaṭṭi people, held that fire-walkers should proceed in order of seniority; and in 1897 the senior-most candidate was an old man from Taṅga:ḍu. After that the festival was celebrated by the two villages on alternate years; see Francis, 1908, 340, and Jogi Gowder, no date, 3–5. In a few years the rift had widened, apparently over a marriage quarrel. A Ha:ruva from Maṇihaṭṭi had asked for the sister's daughter of a Gauda headman. The latter arranged her divorce, and she married the Ha:ruva. He, however had, agreed to pay six rupees worth of finger millet for the divorce but never did, precipitating a long court case and a rift between Ha:ruvas and Gaudas. About 1940 the Gaudas of Me:lu:ru successfully wrested the fire-walking ceremony from the now reunited Ha:ruvas of Maṇihaṭṭi, Taṅga:ḍu and two other villages, causing the latter to celebrate the festival on alternating years at two of their villages, but never more at Me:lu:ru. In effect these Gaudas refuse to acknowledge the ritual superiority of the Ha:ruvas with whom they used to intermarry, and also have won themselves legal recognition as owners of a temple which had previously employed Ha:ruva priests.

18. The London Missionary Society maintained a catechist there in the late nineteenth century, yet by 1891 there were only twenty-eight Christians in a population of 3574; Nicholson, 1898, 424–425.

19. The process of revitalization, though of concern to Max Weber (1946, 1947), was first clarified and labelled by Wallace, 1956, *passim*, and 1966, 158–163; compare Fuchs, 1965, 1–20.

20. Anonymous, 1887, 122. 'The increasing prosperity of the Badagas is unquestionably inclining them to seek instruction for their children'; Grigg, 1880, 426.

21. Fuchs, 1965, 1. He presents many examples of such movements from all over India.

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together. People wear shoes to church if they want to, while some ministers have judiciously refrained from doing so despite the cold stone floors.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way split developed between converts coming from the Gauda, Kumba:ra and Be:da phratries. Each claimed they were socially superior to the other two categories. In this village little intermarriage now occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Be:das and ex-Kumba:ras. They normally interdine but refuse to do so during holy festivals. They have no objection however to attending the same church service together. Somewhat similar retrospective factions appeared in the past between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants in the Roman Catholic community of Badagas, and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Société des missions-étrangères, 1928, vol. VII, 573; Périé, 1933, 100).

We thus find that factional divisions are a deep-seated feature of Badaga social organization. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go off to a distant university cleavages still occur among them which are marked by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction. One is tempted to see in this an urge for a periodic reorganization of the society.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

From the start of the century, the Christian community has been recognized by Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns of interaction have been formalized. During the period 1900–1947 the Hindus, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on an economy and a labour market that ultimately was controlled by the British. As a result partly of this, partly of assigning the Christians to a separate caste status, the acts of violence towards Badaga Christians came to an end. As many Hindu Badagas now found it lucrative to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British they could not at the same time be openly hostile to the religion of the British.

After the Christians became a separate phratry (made up of twelve clans; see Diagram 7, p. 76), and the moment the German Lutheran missionaries were expelled from India in 1914. French

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Catholic priests became very active—mainly in converting Protestant Badagas—and thereby split the Christians into two culturally similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic stance not only towards the other Christian Church but also towards all Hindus.[8] By 1924 there were about a thousand Protestants and a hundred Roman Catholics (Société des missions-étrangères, 1924, vol. III, 466).

Since around 1935 an American couple, Pastor and Mrs. E.D. Willmott, succeeded in converting a few dozen Badagas—again mainly from the Protestants—to the Seventh Day Adventist Church; today some two hundred Badagas are members. Otherwise there has been little change in the balance between Catholics and Protestants, who were almost equal in number by 1947. After national Independence, although Badagas continued to become Adventists, the conversion of Hindus to the two major Christian sects virtually ceased, as did most conversion of Protestants to Roman Catholicism. Some recent conversions were engineered by a Catholic priest (a European) who was able to provide imported clothing, houses, CARE food packets and some land to new converts.

A recent count found 2093 Badaga Christians, of all denominations (Moses, 1964, 35). While there are still points of disagreement between members of the two main sects (pre-eminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Hindus and Christians in general, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing living conditions. There are now indications in casual conversation that Badagas are adapting their orientations to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity, one linking all Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for instance, are willing to admit that the Christians set them a good example—an allusion to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and 'progressive' treatment of their womenfolk that are admired in some Christians and that make them a westernizing model for other Badagas (Ranga, 1934, 5-6). The Badaga community is now usually called a caste, and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as Badagas, a group for which the state government shows particular concern and beneficence by treating as a 'Backward Class'.[9] Thus the chances of material betterment through wider employment opportunities which a century ago prompted a few Badagas to change their

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this mechanism, for it is illuminating. The crucial factor here is the re-evaluation process, for conversations contributing to it take place separately for the different phratries and factions and for males and females. Children furthermore are intellectually equipped for only a very peripheral part in adult discussion. Over a period of years rather different adaptations to living conditions therefore tend to be worked out by each phratry or faction, by men and by women, by the successive generations This accounts for the most obvious subcultural variations within the community; and because children naturally grow into adults and replace the older generation in most roles, an on-going process of changing cultural adaptations is in evidence even though the model for thinking about social relations has remained remarkably stable for some generations.

NOTES

1. Benbow, 1930, 39–42. Other Tamilian festivals now celebrated by some Badagas are Pongal, Ma:ri Habba, Rangana:tan car festival, and the birthdays of various gods; Stokes, 1882, 173.
2. B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 70. It did range as high as Rs. 150 or 200; see Metz, 1864, 99, and Grigg, 1880, 222.
3. But 'varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 . . .'; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 763; compare Tignous, 1911, 119, and Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 250.
4. Dowry may once have been a Badaga custom; Harkness, 1832, 41–42; Metz, 1864, 87. Even today Badagas should give their daughters upon marriage a present *(ado:li)* of at least one milking buffalo, one cow and one trained ploughing ox. If she is later divorced the gift is returned to her father.
5. The official claims that 'The vigilant working of the Prohibition department has made Prohibition a success in this district,' is farcical and is belied by lawcourt statistics; Madras, 1965, 23. It has merely provided a further concern for a burgeoning bureaucracy and another cottage industry for the landless. Most villages had at least one still in full-time production during the 1960s.
6. The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins and looked upon them as incursors from the north; yet 'In Madras the civil service and the professions were dominated almost completely by Brahmins . . .'; Béteille, 1969, 35, also 50–52, 164–168, 173–179.
7. Another village had three headmen recently when its anti-music faction divided into two groups over another matter; these two and the music faction each had a headman.
8. Tignous, 1911, 156; Illustrated Catholic Missions, 1916, vol. II, 8; Périé, 1933, *passim*. There had been some earlier Catholic conversions, the first in 1873 when Father J.M.J. Pottier had baptised a dying Badaga man in a village near Wellington. During the period 1892–1916 about a dozen families had been baptised by Fathers E.J.B. Foubert, M.-L. Robin, F.-F. Deniau, and J.-T. Gudin. Thereafter the pace of conversion increased.

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groups, called phratries. These are like subcastes, except that they have no form of occupational specialization and members are often permitted to marry outside their own phratry. In this hierarchy the conservative Woḍeya group is at the highest level and the Toreyas, servants of the headmen, are the lowest. Between these two there are one phratry of vegetarians and five others of meat-eaters. The Christian Badagas, the first of whom was converted in 1858, belong to a separate meat-eating phratry which, although ranked below the lowest Hindu group, is respected for its progressive habits. Each of these phratries is made up of several clans which are exogamous, and every Badaga village belongs to one of these clans. There are no "multi-caste" villages. In effect this means that a man must marry a girl from another village, and she will come to live with his clan.

Although cross-cousin marriage is the norm, many of the Badaga rules of marriage differ from those which usually govern the South Indian Hindu. Most remarkably, marriage is allowed between members of clans which have a different ranking, and it is of little concern whether the man is of a lower or higher clan than his wife. A man may have more than one wife — in one case as many as five simultaneously. Divorce and remarriage are easy and quite acceptable in the community. Even widows can remarry without prejudice or criticism. It has recently become common for a dowry to be paid by the bride's family on her marriage; but the traditional custom is for the husband to pay bridewealth. This sum, nowadays 200 rupees, does not purchase the bride, but covers the ornaments she brings with her to the wedding.

Certain marital relationships are more favoured than others. Marriage for the Badagas is ideally between cross-cousins and a man should. if possible, marry either his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter. But other relatives are permissible, provided they belong to the appropriate clan. A man may marry a girl far younger than himself, one of a different generation-level; and although throughout his life he can only belong to the generation he was born into, a woman changes hers according to her current husband's position. It is even possible for a man to marry a woman and her daughter (provided she is not *his* daughter) and her granddaughter. All three wives are then considered as belonging to the same generation.

An important feature of this community, from the point of view

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Bestiality is an even rarer phenomenon than homosexuality. The only instances that were reported to me were, first, the curing of a venereal disease by intercourse with a donkey (6.61); and secondly, an adult herdsman who was seen standing on a rock and having relations with a female buffalo. The Basel Mission presbytery minutes for 1903 (written by Badagas) cite similar problems with a Badaga Christian teacher: "...last year he committed sin with a Toda girl...when he was on the way to Ooty to see his wife, who had gone there for her confinement. He also confessed that he had committed the same sin with his own country mare. This was all he confessed." (Basel Mission 1905: 305.)

3.5. These however are for Badagas aberrant forms of sexual expression; most experimentation takes the form of heterosexual intercourse. Its techniques will be described later (3.16), but here we will discuss only those situations in which young Badagas learn about sexuality. For purposes of clarity we can talk about affairs with lovers of the same community, extra-community liaisons, and situations in which parents used to arrange formal training for their adolescent children.

This last custom no longer prevails. It used to occur until some 30 years ago, the initiative to train a girl being taken by her own parents or another close relative; while a boy would usually seek his indoctrination in the arms of an elder brother's wife. In a typical case a man might tell his wife that their unmarried daughter was now old enough for sexual initiation. The wife would then speak to a married daughter about the matter, and she in turn would ask her own husband to offer the necessary practical training when an opportunity arose. In any event, it was supposed to be a relative, such as sister's husband — even if only in a classificatory sense — who should initiate a young girl. If a girl did not undergo such an initiation there was another opportunity for her immediately following her wedding. In this instance the person who would deflorate the bride was not the groom, but a more experienced man who could be gentle with her for the first night or two, and would be related to her as a classificatory husband's brother. The new husband would be absent on these occasions. This custom is no longer followed.

The obverse situation would involve a youth when aged about seventeen being given sexual training by a brother's wife who might be ten years or more his senior, and in some instances used to be

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were sacrificed by beheading directly in front of the Ma:riamma temple. Two features of this ceremony are of interest: one is that the soil was ploughed at that point so that the blood of the victims flowed into the earth; the other is that a curtain was drawn in front of the image of Ma:riamma while the beheadings took place, lest the sight of all the blood should so arouse her thirst that she would go on the rampage through some villages, seeking the death of her human victims. A few years ago the animal sacrifices ceased. The symbolism suggests that Ma:riamma is a type of Hindu earth mother concerned as much with the fertility of the soil as with the control of disease: its control is obviously linked to the conservation of agricultural labour, from an ecological viewpoint.

If a person gets smallpox it means that he has done something impure. For this reason a therapist must pray to Ma:riamma for forgiveness of the patient's sins. The goddess is thereby pleased, not offended, if the patient recovers; yet if she is very angry she may still cause further deaths.

For a very long time the Badagas have relied on inoculations against smallpox. Probably the first person to administer these was the German missionary G.H. Weigle, who in 1846 vaccinated about 700 Badagas, "as a result of which a whole village gave him false names, for fear of magic" (Basel Mission 1846: 48-49; Eppler 1900: 79). This represented a remarkable change of attitude, for the situation up to that time was that, "...many refuse to take any remedies themselves, or to allow any to be administered to their relations, and thence arises their antipathy to vaccination. The supposition is not as to the nature or inefficiency of the means, but it is the fear of offending the goddess..."(Harkness 1832: 117, note). There is some evidence that the large-scale festivities in honour of Ma:riamma were adopted by the Badagas only towards the middle of the nineteenth century,

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instructions for taking the medicine he prepares from it, depending upon which of the half-dozen related *ka:male* diseases he diagnoses. 10.9. Therapists, both male and female, who treat people are regularly called in to treat animals too, and midwives are often asked to help deliver calves. Kurumbas and Todas are not called in to treat Badaga cattle; (the Todas treat their own). Women therapists never treat cattle for *kundu* (see Appendix), since this requires that the therapists remove his loin-cloth at the time.

It is a common subject for question and objection on the part of Western intellectuals that primitive therapeutic systems probably do no demonstrable good to the patient, unless it be the psychological good of convincing him that he is cared for. This would not, I think, be a charitable view to adopt with Badaga therapeutics, since the many herbal remedies do demonstrably cure very often. Though we can probably accept that therapy has a real role in maintenance of the human organism and in its reproduction, we cannot however speak with so much confidence of the ecological role played by therapists in the preservation of cattle. The prayers and rituals for curing cattle perhaps relieve Badaga anxieties, but they clearly bring no objective benefit to the cattle unless accompanied by effective medicines. Most of the cures and advice offered by therapists do in fact have to be ruled out as ineffective: it is perhaps only with the birth and raising of calves that we can feel confident the therapist makes a genuine contribution to the health of cattle and hence to the supply of Badaga foodstuffs.

Missionary Therapists

10.10. It is important to realize that Badagas have been familiar with selected aspects of Western medical practice since shortly after John Sullivan established the first British settlement on the Nilgiris in 1819 (Hockings 1973). While there is no record of his having offered, or even been qualified to do, any medical treatment for the native population, others did begin to do this soon afterwards. In the 1840s a retired judge, J.G. Casamajor, devoted his declining years to the health and welfare of his Badaga neighbours: "There was a room in [his] Kaity house, a sort of hospital, where Mr. Casamajor for a long time attended every morning from 7-8 o'clock, giving medicines to the fever patients, putting plasters upon the wounds and sores of the poor, giving clothes to the naked [sic!],

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and alms to the destitute. The poor people no doubt sometimes abused his kindness and he detected such practices now and then... Among the whole population of the Kaity valley and farther, he was held in the highest veneration." (Basel Mission 1849: 30-31) Casamajor died in 1849, leaving his property to the Basel Mission. The first missionary to concern himself with medical matters there was the German Gottfried H. Weigle (1816-1885), who vaccinated about 700 Badaga children in 1846 (Mullens 1854: 61). Weigle did not stay long, however, and the later missionaries were mostly not skilled in any kind of therapy beyond bandaging. Indeed one of them instilled a genuine distress in many Badagas by causing great loss of face in connection with bandaging a burn. The Rev. Mörike had attended a fire-walking ceremony at which he refused the common courtesy of removing his shoes, and was clearly upset that walking on fire could be done successfully in the name of a heathen god:

> ...this act serves as the main proof of the truth of their idolatry. We therefore prayed the Lord to do something with His strong arm to save His own and its rights. And something happened. One of these invulnerable Brahmins burned his feet so much that he was forced to come to us for help and bandage. This caused great distress among the people and the Brahmins were not a little uneasy. We used this occurrence as much as we could for preaching the Truth of Jesus Christ but it did not come through. Now they say that the one who burned his feet must have committed a very grave sin or else this would not have happened to him, and that now he had been punished by the gods. (Mörike 1851 : 38-39)

Much more recently the Rev. Henry Gulliford recorded in his diary (14 June, 1934) that at a Nilgiri mission hospital, "Two coolies had been brought very ill to the hospital. They prayed over them and they died. The people said that the doctor said *mantrams* over them, which killed them!"

Despite such bad public relations, the early missionaries did build up some confidence in their very limited medical abilities. The Badagas often sought bandaging, medicines, and even inoculations from the German and Swiss missionaries (Ouchterlony 1848: 65; Sawday 1884 : 15). By the early twentieth century Roman Catholic

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nuns were also making medicines available to Badagas (Tignous 1911: 156). Indeed, medical work was becoming a regular missionary strategy. The Rt. Rev. W. V. Karl, the only Badaga to become a bishop, wrote: "Medical work is essential to any full presentation of the gospel. It shows forth the love of God in a way that all can understand.... A doctor should also be a preacher. He can surely have great influence on the Badagas." (Karl 1945: 31)

10.11. In the nineteenth century Badagas strongly objected—and wisely so—to using the government hospitals of the day. One had been founded at Kotagiri in 1832, another at Ootacamund in 1834, a third at Coonoor in 1839, and a few others were established much later in some larger villages. We must remember that antisepsis made safe surgery possible in India only from the 1880s onwards; before that time hospitals had been dangerous centres of infection.

In about 1933 Dr K. I. Simon, a Malayali Christian trained in scientific medicine, set up the Ketti [formerly Kaity] Medical Mission, which remained active until 1955 when funds ran out and Dr Simon moved wholly into private practice. Table 8 makes it evident

Table 8. Performance of the Ketti Medical Mission, 1934-1953

	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	943
Annual number of cases	8602	—	—	—	11468	—	11044	11279	12848	13043
Operations performed	158		—	—	148	—	115	153	127	107
Maternity cases	—	—	—	—	22	—	20	18	10	8

	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Annual number of cases	—	—	—	8847	—	9147	—	9252	8547	7134
Operations performed	—	—	—	109	—	152	—	174	132	92
Maternity cases	—	—	—	9	—	10	—	9	—	9

(Source : Ketti Medical Mission Reports)

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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that the mission hospital was of considerable value, particularly during the War years, except as a place for childbirth. Badagas and others came from villages as far as twenty miles away to seek treatment, and a number of doctor's visits were made to patients in their homes as well. "When our work was first started we were confronted by opposition in some of the villages. Now opposition has disappeared and wherever we go we are welcomed. Moreover, when a patient is very ill we are often requested by Hindu Badagas to hold the patient's hand and pray to God for his or her recovery." (Ketti Medical Mission 1940: 3). From the village where K. Sithamma was born "has come the request to open a small dispensary, the villagers offering to bear part of the cost. If the way opens we shall be glad to help...." (Ketti Medical Mission 1941: 6)

Dr Simon found that the common Badaga diseases were "pneumonia, typhoid, dysentery, hill diarrhoea, malaria, rickets, intestinal parasites, tuberculosis, anaemea, food deficiency diseases, skin diseases such as scabies, ring worm etc." (Ketti Medical Mission 1951 : 3). He also recorded a few deaths among patients due to pneumonia, diphtheria, cerebral hemorrhage, and damage during birth (Ketti Medical Mission 1934: 10; 1938: 3-4; 1951: 3). This is in contrast with the situation reported a century earlier, when the most prevalent diseases were said to be "small pox, occasionally fever, and an affection of the eyes resembling ophthalmia" (Ouchterlony 1848: 65).

The inroads of scientific medicine have been such that in 1972 the informant Sithamma told me that although she used to recommend Badaga therapy as the best, she was now recommending Western medicine and hospitals to people. In her well-informed view therapists giving traditional treatment no longer know it properly: the good therapists are dying out, while younger women are not seriously interested in studying the subject. An old therapist should not teach, but simply be observed by students, and today the young are not motivated to learn in this way. The few girls she had trained in midwifery were still calling for her help whenever they had to attend a delivery.

Knowledge of Physiology

10.12. If we are to gain some further insight into Badaga conceptions of health and medicine, we need to discover their indigenous

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

753 [824] [831]

illness. Sexual over-exertion can similarly make a young man incapacitated (cf. 3.10).

(*h*) The odour that follows on an act of coitus, or the "bad wind" that emanates from a corpse, or from a childbirth, are widely held to be responsible for illness and even death in unweaned infants.

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(*i*) Some misfortunes, like bites, stings and burns, are caused by quite obvious external agents. What we would consider equally obvious cases of infection, however, may be considered by Badagas to have a more complicated causation ; as in the reported case of a woman with

753 164 797

> an extensive ulceration from the right arm pit to the right shoulder and to the right breast. It was full of black-headed maggots .... It seems she had been in this state for one and a half months in the village ... The rest of the crowd made most unkind remarks at her expense. Some said that it was on account of her bad life in a previous birth that she had to suffer thus. Her husband's brother said that I must either cure her soon or put her to a painless end .... I sprinkled into the deep ulcerated tissue a small quantity of chloro form, and the maggots fell dead in hundreds .... There followed an uneventful recovery ... (Ketti Medical Mission 1949: 4-5)

(The writer was of course an Indian doctor trained in scientific medicine.)

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(*j*) Depigmentation of the skin is caused by the supposed "bite of a blindworm."

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(*k*) Nowadays a "germ theory" is not unknown, as for example in the explanation offered me for why teeth rot. Cleanliness of body is strongly approved of today.

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(*l*) In the case of plague it is thought that mosquitoes carry the disease from rats to men. This modern-sounding but inaccurate theory probably arose from the publicity that surrounded the mosquito eradication programme on the lower slopes some year ago.

[797] [539]

(*m*) And finally there is a belief that bad luck and illness tend to repeat themselves for an individual: as a proverb puts it, "The very foot which is scarred will be hurt again."

578 dozen of these are known, two of them antedating this century. These two will be discussed here; the others will be considered later when we examine recent social changes among the Badagas.

175 578 •797 Apparently the first major faction, and certainly the most important if judged by its effects, was that engendered by the activities of Christian missionaries during the last century. From 1846, or possibly even earlier, a few missionaries had worked among the Badagas and Todas (Stokes 1882: 175). In 1857 Abraham

578 797 798 Nerkamby became the first Badaga Christian (Eppler 1900: 153); and although this and all subsequent conversions until about 1904 were the objects of bitter resentment on the part of nearly all Badagas, the Badaga Christian community slowly swelled, and by 1904 ceased to be treated as a recalcitrant faction (Basel Mission 1889: 67-68; Anonymous 1894: 547-51). It instead became, in the eyes of other

578 798 Badagas, a separate caste or community not to be considered as Badaga at all. Until that time, however, Christians received the usual treatment of an opposed faction: no intermarriage or interdining, little or no conversation, and occasional outbursts of violence or robbery (Eppler 1900: passim). The following case, one of many that have been recorded by the local missionaries, typifies the common situation.

> ... The two families of Titus and Benjamin, uncle and nephew, live together in a joint house at Chogatorre, some 30 or 40 paces behind the row of Badaga houses, and situated on their own land. [The two families are Badaga Christians.] Lakshma, a rich and influential inhabitant of the village... set himself to drive the two families away from their land and house. He began by seizing upon a piece of ground belonging to an orphan, a minor, and adjoining that of the Christians, and fenced it, so that the Christians were prevented from leaving their house, though for many years they had had the right of way on the edge of that property, and that right had been confirmed before witnesses before the father of the orphan before his death. As the Christians were thus prevented from coming to church and even from going to the nullah [creek] to fetch water, they were for a time in great distress... Nobody dared to assist them by bringing them water, not even at night for Lakshma had set a watch, and as most of the villagers were indebted to him, they were all afraid of him...

178 tional occupations include school-teachers, local government officials, bus drivers,
463 and factory workers.

Our sample of 301 adolescent and adult Badaga males (aged 15-85) in 1963
463 had the following employment pattern; (the categories are taken from the Census of
[125] India):

I	Cultivating own or rented land	59.6%
II	Agricultural laborer	5.0%
III	Forestry and livestock	.0%
IV	Cottage industries	0.7%
V	Manufacturing	3.7%
VI	Construction	4.0%
VII	Trade and business	0.3%
VIII	Transport and communications	3.7%
IX	Teaching and "professions"	13.0%
X	Non-workers, students	10.0%

It is clear that farm-work is still the most prevalent activity; but now a substantial proportion of the men are working in occupations (Categories V to IX) that are typical of participation in a monetary economy; with the important exception of commerce itself.

Law and Administration

Since early in the 19th Century the Badagas were indirectly ruled by
177 British administrators. Contact with the British had relatively little effect in the
[175] early years, however. The transition from a barter to a cash economy was very
[65] slow, although in the last century the British did introduce a few new crops and new tools to the Badagas. Only in the 1860's did the Badagas really feel a heavy
[241] impact from the presence of the British. Two things happened at that time. One was the appearance of a separate Badaga Christian community encouraged and protected by the local Englishmen; the other was the legal end to slash-and-burn cultivation and the fixing of all field boundaries.

tour of the singers, the women clean out the houses, place auspicious markings outside the doorways, and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the bhajan group has passed by. Many hamlets have adopted this practice. They conclude the unlucky month by holding a big communal feast attended by the entire hamlet.

In summary, whether we consider the organization of Kārtige, Mārgaṭi, Dipāvali or Dassara, we find that the borrowed festival is not celebrated by the entire Badaga population, there is some local variation in the way in which it is celebrated, those who do celebrate the festival still show much less enthusiasm for it than for native Badaga festivals; and finally, Badagas show much less enthusiasm for these festivals than do the Tamilians and Mysoreans now living in the Nilgiris.

4) Since 1913 important developments have occurred in the Badaga Christian community. From the earliest years of the present century, according to the missionary reports, the Christian community has been recognized by the Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns for interaction between the Christians and Hindus have been formalized. During the period 1913-1947 the Hindu Badagas, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on the economy and the labor market which was ultimately controlled by the British. As a result of this the former acts of violence toward Badaga Christians ceased: as many Hindu Badagas now found it desirable to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British, they could not simultaneously be openly antagonistic toward the religion of the British.

After the Christians had become a separate social group, Roman Catholic priests became active -- mainly in converting Protestant Badagas -- and thereby split the Christians into two culturally very similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic attitude not only toward the other

186 578 797 798 Christian group but also toward the Hindus (Périe 1932: 1-8).

This situation continued with little change until after 1947, by which time the Catholics were almost as numerous as the Protestants. Independence brought new factors into play, however. Conversion of Hindus to either Christian sect virtually ceased with national Independence, as did most conversion of Protestants to Catholicism. While there are still some points of disagreement between members of the two churches (preëminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Christians and Hindus, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing conditions of life in the Nilgiris. There are now some indications in casual conversation that the cultural orientations of the Badagas are being adapted to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity; one which links all Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with all other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for example, were willing to tell me that "The Christians set us a good example"; by these words they were alluding to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and "progressive" treatment of their women for which the Christians are noted (cf. Ranga 1934: 5-6). The Badaga community is now always called a "caste", and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as "Badagas", a community which the Government shows particular concern and beneficence for by treating as a "Backward Class". The chances of material benefit through better employment opportunities which, a century ago, prompted a few Badagas to change their attitudes sufficiently to become Christians, now prompt their descendants to alter other orientations not closely related to religious values but rather to a government and its new classification of employment priorities. Such a change in orientation holds out the chance of upward mobility; but in that process conversion to Christianity is now an anachronistic mechanism.

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578 771 794 (793) together. People wear shoes to church if they wish to, while most of the priests judiciously refrain from doing so.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way factional split developed. There the converts came from three phratries, Gaudas, Bedas and Kumbaras. The 186 578 797 dispute arose because each of these three groups claimed that it was socially superior to the other two groups of converts. In this Christian community little intermarriage occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Bedas and ex-Kumbaras. They interdine normally, but refuse to do so during festivals. They raise no objection to attending the same church services together. This particular example is one of the very few having three — rather than two — parties to the dispute. Somewhat similar factions have in the past emerged in the Roman Catholic community between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants; and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Périe 1932: 8).

181 In summary, we can see that factional divisions are a deep-seated element in the organization of Badaga life. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go to a distant university for tertiary education, cleavages still occur amongst them which are characterized by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction.